

Message Text

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SUBJ: SALT MEETING, OCTOBER 2, 1973 (SALT TWO - 291)

1. SUMMARY: JOHNSON EMPHASIZED US PROPOSALS ARE BASED ON CONVICTION SALT MUST DEAL WITH THREATS TO SURVIVABILITY EITHER SIDE'S DETERRENT FORCES. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING ASPECTS NEW SOVIET ICBMS. SEMENOV SAID LIMITATIONS OF INTERIM AGREEMENT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN PERMANENT AGREEMENT AND LATTER SHOULD BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE SYSTEMS NOT COVERED BY IA. NEXT MEETING OCT 5. END SUMMARY

2. JOHNSON SAID PERMANENT AGREEMENT SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY OF STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BY MAINTAINING AND ENHANCING SURVIVABILITY STRATEGIC FORCES. US POSITION BASED ON CONVICTION SALT MUST DEAL EFFECTIVELY AND IN VERIFIABLE MANNER WITH POSSIBLE THREATS TO SURVIVABILITY EITHER SIDES DETERRENT FORCES. HE SAID THAT FOUR FACTORS ARE IMPORTANT TO SURVIVABILITY. FIRST OF THESE IS THAT ICBM LAUNCHERS ARE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF POTENTIAL CAPABILITY TO LAUCH REENTRY VEHICLES OF SUFFICIENT YIELD AND ACCURACY TO DESTROY SILOS, EVEN OF GREAT HARDNESS. SECOND FACTOR IS THAT RELATIVE NUMBER OF ICBM LAUNCHERS ON EACH SIDE IS IMPORTANT TO THEIR SURVIVABILITY. THIRD IS THAT ICBMS AND ICBM FORCES CAPABLE OF THROWING LARGE WEIGHTS INTO INTERCONTINENTAL TRA-

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JECTORY ARE MORE DESTABILIZING THAT ICBMS AND ICBM FORCES WITH LESSER

THROW-WEIGHT CAPABILITY. FOURTH FACTOR IS THAT THE MIRV-ING OF THOSE ICBMS WITH CAPABILITY TO CARRY NUMBER LARGE REENTRY VEHICLES, EACH HAVING A HIGH PROBABILITY OF DESTROYING HARDENED SILO, WOULD RESULT IN CLEARLY DESTABILIZING WEAPON SYSTEM.

3. JOHNSON NOTED THAT USSR NOW ACTIVELY DEVELOPING FOUR NEW ICBMS INCLUDING A NEW HEAVY ICBM. MANY OF NEW ICBMS ARE BEING TESTED WITH MIRVS. PACE AND BREADTH THESE PROGRAMS ARE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO OUR JOINT ABILITY TO CURB IN TIMELY AND VERIFIABLE MANNER THE POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING ELEMENTS OF ICBM AND ICBM MIRV COMPETITION. JOHNSON CONCLUDED BY ASKING FOR EARLY EXPRESSION SOVIET VIEWS ON CONSIDERATIONS HE HAD SET FORTH.

4. SEMENOV, AFTER REFERENCES TO BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NEGOTIATIONS AND MAY 20, 1971 AGREEMENT, SAID THAT IA PUT LIMITS ON NUMERICAL ACCUMULATION ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS AND MODERN SSBNS AND SHOULD BE FOUNDATION ON WHICH CORRESPONDING PROVISIONS OF PERMANENT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE BUILT. HE SAID SOVDEL BELIEVES PERMANENT AGREEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE OBLIGATIONS; (A) TO LIMIT LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS TO PRESENT LEVELS; (B) NOT TO CONVERT LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR LIGHT ICBMS AS WELL AS OLDER ICBMS DEPLOYED PRIOR TO 1964 INTO LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS DEPLOYED AFTER THAT TIME; (C) TO LIMIT SLBM LAUNCHERS AND MODERN SSBNS TO LEVELS SPECIFIED IN IA PROTOCOL. PERMANENT AGREEMENT SHOULD ALSO REFLECT IA PROVISIONS ON MODERNIZATION, REPLACEMENT AND VERIFICATION AND INCLUDE CERTAIN ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS ON EXPANDED COMPOSITION OF OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED. HE CONCLUDED THAT THIS APPROACH CORRESPONDS TO ARTICLE VII AND VIII OF IA, AND EQUAL SECURITY PRINCIPLE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE APPLIED TO LIMITS ON ADDITIONAL SYSTEMS TO BE INCLUDED IN A PERMANENT AGREEMENT. JOHNSON

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